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FINAL REPORT  
(Volume I)

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Title: Indians and Eskimos of Canada

An overview of studies of  
relevance to the Royal Commission  
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Div: VIII-B

Report No 23





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Volume I

Frank G. Teller

September, 1966








INDIANS AND ESKIMOS OF CANADA

AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES OF RELEVANCE  
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON  
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

Report prepared for the Royal  
Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Frank G. Vallee  
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PREFACE

This report was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Frank G. Vallee, who devoted twenty days to guiding the reading, checking statistics, and editing the sections written by the four people who contributed. Mr. Allan Shugg spent two months in the summer of 1965 on the bibliographical search and summaries of studies in economics and education, as well as preparing demographic materials from Indian Affairs Branch and Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Mrs. Sheila Rorke, research assistant to Dr. Vallee, extended and completed Mr. Shugg's work after he left for Africa. In completing the parts dealing with cultural distinctiveness and organization, the supervisor received valuable assistance from Mr. Duke Redbird and Mr. Wilfred Pelletier. For résumés of Eskimo studies, the supervisor depended primarily upon the Northern Coordination Research Centre at the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.





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## INTRODUCTION

Because of the strong Eskimo and Indian claim to original charter-membership in Canadian society as pre-European occupants of its territory, it might have been expected that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism would program extensive research into the present position and future prospects of these groups. However, a full report on Indians and Eskimos was not commissioned because a very comprehensive study of the problems facing the Indians of Canada had been launched in 1964, under the direction of Professor H. B. Hawthorn, and several studies of the Eskimos had been either launched or planned in 1963. The report of the Hawthorn research group will be presented to the Indian Affairs Branch in the summer of 1966 and the reports on Eskimo studies are published, mostly by the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, as they are completed and edited. Duplication of these studies by the Commission would have been unwarranted.

As so much inquiry into Eskimo and Indian matters was already underway or planned, the Commission decided to limit its own research commitment to a review of studies whose findings were pertinent to its terms of reference and to providing an annotated bibliography of these studies. The following topics were deemed most pertinent to the terms of reference of the Commission: population trends, economic and educational patterns,





the maintenance of Indian and Eskimo languages and of other distinctive cultural traits, and special problems besetting attempts to establish and maintain Indian and Eskimo organizations on regional and national bases. For some of these topics there is an abundance of statistical data, but for most of them there is available neither an impressive array of quantitative information nor an adequate set of qualitative studies which would permit one to generalize with confidence about overall patterns or about major variations.

In this introduction we present a very brief sketch of the historical background of the Indian and Eskimo population in order to give some temporal perspective. The reader who wants to pursue the historical background in more detail than is provided here should consult those works listed in the bibliography as primarily historical in content. Diamond Jenness' Indians of Canada is most strongly recommended as a compact and definitive guide to the historical and cultural backgrounds of the many different Indian and Eskimo groups.

The people who are called Indians and Eskimos are descendants of ancestors who lived in Canada for thousands of years before Europeans came to settle. At the time of initial European settlement, it is estimated that there were about 200,000 inhabitants in what is now Canada. The inhabitants had no collective name denoting the total population of the





continent. It remained for Columbus, who thought that he had arrived in Asiatic India, to mistakenly apply a collective name - Indian - to this population. The term Eskimo was invented later to distinguish that far northern population beyond the tree line from the rest of the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent.

This population lived in variously sized organized groups which English-speaking people call tribes, nations, bands. Each of these groups had a collective name for its own members, such as Ho-de-no-sau-nee (Iroquois), Tionontates (Tobacco), and had names for other collections of people around them, but, as pointed out, had no collective name for the total population occupying what is now Canada.

These groups of people were far from homogeneous. Great differences were to be found in their languages, economies, kinship systems, dwellings, styles, and so on. They were scattered over this vast half-continent, most of them living in small settlements, numbering fewer than a hundred in each, for the greater part of the year, although on the West Coast and in the agricultural regions of Ontario fairly large villages were inhabited.

Variations also occurred from group to group in the kinds, intensity and consequences of contact they had with the European immigrants, but generally speaking contact was





peaceful in Canada. In any case, there was never such a thing as a united Indian 'front' mounted against the outsiders.

During the early phase of contact, the people of European origin depended much on the original inhabitants as guides, trappers, hunters, fishermen and boatmen in economic and exploratory endeavours. There was considerable mixing with the native population, especially on the part of French and Scottish fur traders and voyageurs. This mixing gave rise eventually to a group of people who were neither completely Indian nor completely European in origin. The most common name applied to this group is Metis, which, like the term Mestizo in Central and South America, derives from the Latin mixtus, and simply means of mixed origin. The Metis on the prairies emerged as a fairly distinct group during the early part of the 19th century and were well on the way to developing a united organization with political functions. This development was blocked by the arrival of substantial numbers of settlers from Europe and Eastern Canada seeking land for agricultural and other sedentary purposes.

In the process of settlement, hunting and the fur trade declined as major sources of livelihood, except in northern regions. In only a few places did the Indians and Metis switch from these traditional ways of getting a living to intensive farming. People of European origin spreading over the country came to occupy the lands over which the native people formerly





hunted and trapped. Occupation was usually achieved through governmental negotiation with Indian groups resulting in treaties, in which the Indians would surrender rights to land in return for annuities of varying sizes, but averaging about \$7.00 per annum per band member, exclusive band rights to specified pieces of land, called 'reserves', and certain health, welfare and educational services to be provided by that federal government agency set up to handle the affairs of the Indians. Eventually large numbers of Indians came to settle in small groups called bands, behind the social barriers of the reserves, most of which are remote places; their affairs came to be administered by a branch of government, called the Indian Affairs Branch, under an act of parliament called the Indian Act. In Canada there are now almost 600 Indian bands and more than 2000 reserves.

The process just described did not occur among all groups of Indian ancestry. Many people who recognize their Indian ancestry and who regard themselves as Indians or Metis, are not regarded officially as Indians for purposes of the Indian Act. How many people in Canada are in this position it is impossible to say, for the official Canadian census does not provide a category called Metis for people of that origin. For a person to acquire official Indian status according to the Act, he must be adopted by members of the band or must



have had a father who was officially Indian according to the Act. For instance, a person whose mother is officially Indian but whose father is of some European origin, does not have legal Indian status, is not a registered member of a band. On the other hand, a person whose mother is of some European origin and whose father is officially Indian, is automatically a registered member of a band and is legally an Indian. One of the obvious implications is that the federal government, through its Indian Affairs Branch, is 'responsible' for a person in the latter category, but not for a person in the former one.

The process of treaty-making and application of the Indian Act did not occur at all among the Eskimos. Until quite recent times the government had little direct influence and few clearly-defined responsibilities for these people. Contact between people of European origin and Eskimos was affected mostly through such agencies as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Missions, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Since World War II, the federal government has taken a direct hand in Eskimo affairs through the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. This department performs functions relative to the Eskimos which are in many ways similar to the functions performed by the Indian Affairs Branch relative to members of Indian bands.





For both Indians and Eskimos, the most crucial changes in their way of life were the unintended and unforeseen consequences of the introduction from outside their own groups of various objects and patterns of livelihood. For instance, the introduction of the horse, rifle, defence installations and railroads set in motion changes which ramified widely through their small-scale societies. The same can be said for the introduction of trapping, commercial fishing, logging, mining, tourism. Whatever the motives and purposes of those who introduced such objects and patterns of livelihood, few of the consequences for Indians and Eskimos could have been foreseen. Of course, not all important changes are to be traced exclusively to such sources. For many generations, persons and agencies, governmental and non-governmental, have attempted to deliberately introduce and guide planned changes in Eskimo and Indian populations.

The tendency to foster planned change is just now reaching a peak, as people from all origins - Eskimo, Indian, European - realize the urgency of the need to break through the vicious spiral of mistrust, low education, unemployment, poverty, discouragement, and the feeling of being pariahs in what was once their own land. Over most of the nation there has been a depletion in the resources upon which Eskimos and Indians depended as well as a decline in the payoff from traditional





pursuits such as trapping. Living in economically backward regions, many Eskimo and Indian groups became a kind of rural proletariat, ill-equipped to take advantage of whatever alternatives were theoretically or actually open to them.

Programs of planned change have to do mostly with education and development in the economic and community spheres. Many of the programs are being evaluated in the studies mentioned on page 1 above and the reports on these studies should contribute to public enlightenment about the prospects of Indian and Eskimo people in Canada. Because these comprehensive studies will soon be available, we confine ourselves in the following sections to a summary of impressions on a limited number of topics derived from contemporary publications and theses. In each section the Indians will be discussed separately from the Eskimos except where the discussion is equally relevant to both groups.



### POPULATION

In the 1961 federal census, 220,121 persons were counted as Native Indian and Eskimo, an increase of more than 33% over 1951. This increase represents the excess of births over deaths and emigration for that population which, unlike so many other ethnic groups in Canada, gains nothing from immigration. The rate of natural increase for Canada as a whole for the same period was 22%. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that census figures for the Indian and Eskimo population are conservative. Many writers have observed that thousands of people who are not legally Indian, in terms of the definition given earlier, but who are ethnically Indian and of mixed parentage, do not report themselves as Indian to census enumerators. Terms like Metis and half-breed are not acceptable as census categories.

Whatever the total population of those that regard themselves an Indianish, there is no doubt about its high rate of growth. If the present rate continues, the census of 1971 can be expected to report more than 300,000 people as native Indian and Eskimo. Moreover, because the growth is by natural increase rather than immigration, we can expect that about 60% of the Indian and Eskimo population in 1971 to be under twenty-one years of age. For the Canadian





population as a whole slightly over 40% of the population was under twenty-one years of age at the 1961 census. With such a burgeoning youthful element, problems of education and of channelling youth into meaningful employment are especially acute among the Indians and Eskimos.

Population trends among Indians and Eskimos are not uniform over the whole country. At this point in the discussion we separate out the Eskimos from the Indians, concentrating initially on variations among the latter element. Table I provides us with a comparison of Indian populations, derived from the federal census of 1961, for the different provinces and territories, in 1951 and 1961. In Table II we compare rates of natural increase for Canada as a whole and for Indians.





TABLE NO. 1

INDIAN POPULATION, CANADA AND PROVINCES - 1951 and 1961.\*

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>% INCREASE</u>
CANADA	155,874	208,286	33.6%
NEWFOUNDLAND	358	596	66.4%
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	257	236	8.1%
NOVA SCOTIA	2,717	3,267	20.2%
NEW BRUNSWICK	2,255	2,921	29.5%
QUEBEC	14,631	18,876	29.0%
ONTARIO	37,370	47,862	28.0%
MANITOBA	21,024	29,219	38.9%
SANKATCHEWAN	22,250	30,628	37.6%
ALBERTA	21,163	28,469	34.5%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	28,478	38,789	36.2%
YUKON	1,533	2,167	41.3%
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	3,838	5,256	36.9%

\* SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA



TABLE NO. II

PERCENT NATURAL INCREASE, CANADA, TOTAL  
 POPULATION, AND INDIAN POPULATION,  
 1951 - 1961

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>INDIANS</u>
TOTAL	22 %	33.6%
NEWFOUNDLAND	31 %	66.4%
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	17 %	8.1%
NOVA SCOTIA	20 %	20.2%
NEW BRUNSWICK	23 %	29.5%
QUEBEC	24 %	29.0%
ONTARIO	21 %	28.0%
MANITOBA	19 %	38.9%
SASKATCHEWAN	21 %	37.6%
ALBERTA	27 %	34.5%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	19 %	36.2%
YUKON	-	41.3%
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	-	36.9%

SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA





It will be seen from these tables that Indian rates of increase from 1951 to 1961 have been consistently higher for those provinces and territories to the West of Ontario and North of parallel 60. If we group together Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces we find that the percent of Indian increase east of Manitoba from 1951 to 1961 has been about 28%. For the remainder of Canada the percent increase has been 38% for the same period. It is impossible with the data on hand to account satisfactorily for these variations in percent increase of those reported as of native Indian origin. To do so requires data on rural-urban differences, patterns of migration among regions, and other refined population breakdowns which are not derivable from the federal census in its published forms.

Another source of demographic information on Canada's Indians is the annual census of registered Indians carried out by the Indian Affairs Branch. The most serious limitation of this source of information concerning Indians as an ethnic group is that it is concerned only with Indians as defined legally. However, it is interesting to compare figures from this IAB source with those from the federal census. Such a comparison is set out in Table III.



TABLE III

Persons of Native Indian Origin, Census, 1961.		Registered Indian Population, IAB Census, as at 31/12/1961	Excess of Federal over IAB Census
Canada	208,286	191,709	+ 16,577
Nfld (Labrad)	596	-*	n/a
P.E.I.	236	348	- 112
Nova Scotia	3,267	3,746	- 479
New Brunswick	2,921	3,397	- 476
Quebec	18,876	21,793	- 2,917
Ontario	47,862	44,942	+ 2,920
Manitoba	29,219	25,681	+ 3,538
Saskatchewan	30,628	25,334	+ 5,294
Alberta	28,469	20,931	+ 7,538
British Columbia	38,789	38,616	+ 173
Yukon	2,167	2,006	+ 161
N.W.T.	5,256	4,915	+ 341

\* In the IAB Census for 1961 no registered Indians are reported from Newfoundland (Labrador)





Where the population reported to be of native Indian origin in the federal census is in excess of that reported to be of registered Indian status, we can assume that many of the Indian people who are in excess of the registered Indian population are ethnically, but not legally, Indian. These would be Metis and enfranchised Indians, that is, those who were formerly registered Indians but who have given up this status or have been deprived of it through marriage. This would help account for the numerical differences between people of native Indian origin and people who are registered Indians in Ontario and the Western Provinces, and particularly in the Prairie Provinces. But how does one account for the numerical differences that go the other way? In the Maritime provinces and Quebec, the registered Indian population is reported to be larger than that of native Indian origin for those provinces in the federal census. Two reasons for this apparent paradox are the different ways of getting the census data and the different dates of the counts: the federal census is one of households and is taken in June; the Indian Affairs one is compiled by agents of the Branch, using vital statistics reported to them, and reporting the population for the end of December of a given year. However, these different methods and dates of gathering data cannot account entirely for the patterned discrepancies, namely: that the registered Indian population is consistently higher than the population of native Indian origin for the regions east of Ontario and consistently lower for Ontario and the Prairie Provinces.



As just pointed out, the presence of large numbers of Metis people in the Prairie Provinces and the relative paucity of people in this category in the East and in British Columbia accounts for some of the differences under review. We would also suggest that the lower rate of enfranchisement in the Maritimes and in Quebec than in the rest of Canada means that there are relatively fewer people of Indian origin who are not registered Indians in those provinces. Statistics on enfranchisement bear this out, as will be seen in Table IV.





TABLE IV

ENFRANCHISEMENTS - 1963-64

<u>Province</u>	Adult Indians enfranchised upon applica- tion together with their minor unmar- ried children.	Indian women enfranchised following mar- riage to non- Indians together with their minor unmarried children	Total number of Indians enfran- chised.		
	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	
Nova Scotia	-	-	3	-	3
Prince Edward Island	-	-	1	-	1
New Brunswick	-	-	6	2	8
Quebec	4	2	13	1	20
Ontario	22	18	87	24	151
Manitoba	8	3	30	11	52
Saskatchewan	6	5	32	16	59
Alberta	1	0	31	4	36
British Columbia	5	10	65	37	117
Northwest Territories	-	-	7	6	13
Yukon Territory	-	-	12	1	13
	46	38	287	102	473

Source: Facts and Figures, 1AB, 1964.



Another possibility is that the registered Indian population in the Maritimes and Quebec are more likely than those in other regions to migrate out of their provinces during the summer when the federal census is taken. With the data at hand we are not in a position to check out this hypothesis.

One advantage of using the Indian Affairs Branch Census is that it provides us with more recent statistics than does the federal one, for it is compiled every year. When the present study was launched, the most recent IAB census data available was for January 1st, 1964. We decided to compare for ten-year periods the percent increase in registered Indian population with that of people reported to be of native Indian origin in the federal census. For the latter category, the percent increase between 1951 and 1961 by province has already been presented in Table II. For the category of registered Indians, we use the period 1954-1964, in order to be as much up-to-date as we can. Here again, as will be seen in Table V, discrepancies between native Indian origin and registered Indian in terms of their percent increase over ten year periods will be found. Certain provinces with relatively low rates of increase, or even decrease as in the case of Prince Edward Island, in the category of native Indian origin, are found to have relatively higher rates of increase of registered Indians and vice versa.





TABLE V

INDIAN BAND MEMBERSHIP, CANADA & PROVINCES  
1954 AND 1964

	<u>1954</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>% INCREASE</u>
CANADA	151,558	204,796	35.1%
NEWFOUNDLAND	-	-	-
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	272	374	37.5%
NOVA SCOTIA	3,002	3,935	31.0%
NEW BRUNSWICK	2,629	3,629	38.0%
QUEBEC	17,574	23,043	31.1%
ONTARIO	37,255	47,260	26.8%
MANITOBA	19,684	27,778	41.1%
SASKATCHEWAN	18,750	27,672	47.5%
ALBERTA	15,715	22,738	44.6%
BRITISH COLUMBIA	31,086	40,990	31.8%
YUKON	1,568	2,142	36.6%
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	4,023	5,235	30.1%

SOURCE: INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH, CENSUS OF REGISTERED  
INDIANS IN CANADA, 1954 & 1964.



The most spectacular discrepancy of this kind occurs in Prince Edward Island. As far as people of native Indian origin are concerned, they are reported to have declined some 8% between 1951 and 1961; in the same province, between 1954 and 1964, the IAB record an increase of no less than 37.5% in the registered Indian population. Of course, in this province the numbers of Indians are so small, only a few hundred, that such discrepancies are to be expected.

The main point to note in this section is that, in terms of percent increase, the registered Indian population shows a higher percent increase over the period 1954-1964 than does the population reported as of native Indian origin for the period 1951-1961. This suggests that those who are living in Indian bands on reserve land and on crown land are increasing at a more rapid rate than those living elsewhere. Table VI gives the proportion of registered Indians living on and off reserves for different regions.





TABLE VI  
INDIAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE  
 (as of 31/12/63)

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>ON</u>	<u>OFF</u>	<u>C.L.</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Prince Edward Island	248	125	-	1	374
Nova Scotia	3,085	823	-	27	3,935
New Brunswick	3,132	494	-	3	3,629
Quebec	12,999	3,755	6,143	146	23,043
Ontario	30,401	12,887	3,694	278	47,260
Manitoba	22,882	2,973	1,843	80	27,778
Saskatchewan	23,751	2,328	1,511	82	27,672
Alberta	19,532	1,691	1,384	131	22,738
British Columbia	35,281	5,125	463	121	40,990
Yukon	27	1,010	1,104	1	2,142
Northwest Territories	1	179	4,984	71	5,235
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
CANADA	151,339	31,390	21,126	941	204,796

Definition

ON        -    On Reserves  
 OFF      -    Off Reserves  
 C.L.     -    Crown Land  
 N.S.     -    Not Stated



A note of explanation is in order with respect to Crown Lands. These are areas which are not reserves in the strict sense, but which have been set aside for Indian use and are, in effect, regarded as Indian territory, sociologically similar to reserves if not legally so.

As the pressure of population pressing against reserve resources increases we can expect sharp increases in the numbers of Indians migrating to towns and cities. Adequate statistics for this rural to urban movement are not available, but evidence from non-statistical documents to be presented later suggests that in some urban centres Indians are arriving in 'waves', not unlike the invasion of European immigrants into these same centres in the problems they face and in the responses they make to these problems.





## EDUCATION

The statistical and other reports on education among people of Indian and Eskimo ancestry reveal that, as a category of Canada's population, the native peoples are the most disadvantaged in terms of average years of schooling and that peculiar problems of a legal, social, and cultural nature make difficult the achievement of an adequate system of education for these people. The considerable academic and professional achievements of a small but significant number of Indians born and brought up on reserves are proof that educational lag is not due to innate, biological factors, but to social, economic and cultural ones.

The gap between Indians and non-Indians in average grade achieved is greatest for those who are now adults and is narrowing for those still in school. Table VII shows that of the Indian/Eskimo population five years of age and over and not attending school, more than 50% had less than grade four completion and about 33% had no schooling at all, in 1964. A comparable figure for Canada as a whole provides some perspective: in that same year only 9.3% had less than grade four completion. Of persons still attending school, 92% of the Indians and Eskimos were in grade eight or lower (Table VIII). The comparable figure for the rest of Canada is 76.7%.



Without going into detail we refer to the remainder of the tables on education in noting that the lowest levels of educational achievement are found in the rural non-farm regions where the majority of Indians, Metis and Eskimos live. The small portion classified as urban have a substantially higher average of grade achieved than do the others. However, even the latter is far below the average for all groups in Canada. The tables for each province or territory show that grade achieved is highest for Prince Edward Island, Ontario, and British Columbia. These are the provinces with the lowest proportion of people reporting a native language as their mother tongue (see page 70 ).

Provinces and territories with the largest Eskimo populations have the lowest average of grade achieved. This is to be expected because for the great majority of Eskimos formal schooling began only in the 1950's with the assumption by the Federal Government of responsibility for a much stepped-up educational program among the Eskimos. Until that time only a tiny number of Eskimo people had attended full-fledged schools, most of these run by the missions, although a few hundred had a taste of schooling in classes held in hospitals in the south.





TABLE VII (a)

Indian/Eskimo Population 5 Years of  
Age and Over Not Attending School, 1961

<u>CANADA</u>	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	41,532	33	33
Pre-1	107		
1-4	27,109	22	55
5-8	42,792	34	89
H	8,427	7	96
H-3	1,727	1	97
H-4	1,414	1	98
H-5	559	0.45	
Some U	248	0.20	
U. Deg.	117	0	
NOT ATTENDING	124,032		

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



TABLE VII (b)

## Indian/Eskimo Population of Newfoundland

## 5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

NFLD -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	445	48	48
PRE-1	8	1	49
1-4	249	27	76
5-8	162	18	94
H	28	3	97
H-3	19	2	99
H-4	5	0	
H-5	4	0	
Some U	1	0	
U. Deg.	1	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	922		

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (c)

## Indian/Eskimo Population of Prince Edward Island

## 5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

P.E.I. -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	21	15	15
PRE-1	-		15
1-4	34	26	41
5-8	64	48	89
H	8	6	95
H-3	1	1	96
H-4	3	2	98
H-5	1	1	99
Some U	1	1	100
U. Deg.	-		
T. NOT ATTENDING	133		100

Source: Census of Canada





TABLE VII (d)

India/Eskimo Population of Nova Scotia  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

NOVA SCOTIA -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	210	12	12
PRE-1	1	0	38
1-4	441	26	38
5-8	778	46	84
H	162	10	94
H-3	42	2	96
H-4	28	2	98
H-5	10	1	99
Some U	4	0	
U. Deg.	4	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	1,680		99

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (e)

Indian/Eskimo Population of New Brunswick  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

N.B. -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	218	15	15
PRE-1	2	0	15
1-4	349	23	38
5-8	776	52	90
H	108	7	97
H-3	14	1	98
H-4	8	0	
H-5	4	0	
Some U	4	0	
U. Deg.	1	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	1,484		98

Source: Census of Canada





TABLE VII (f)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Quebec  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

QUEBEC -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	6,138	47	47
PRE-1	13	0	0
1-4	2,776	21	68
5-8	2,793	21	89
H	849	6	95
H-3	166	1	96
H-4	165	1	97
H-5	109	1	98
Some U	40	0	
U. Deg.	30	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	13,079		0

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (g)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Ontario  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

ONTARIO -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	7,393	26	26
PRE-1	7	0	26
1-4	5,334	19	45
5-8	10,988	39	84
H	2,679	10	94
H-3	581	2	96
H-4	538	2	98
H-5	214	1	99
Some U	90	0	
U. Deg.	56	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	27,880		99

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (h)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Manitoba  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

MANITOBA -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	4,594	29	29
PRE-1	24	0	
1-4	4,243	27	56
5-8	5,735	37	93
H	677	4	97
H-3	135	1	98
H-4	95	1	99
H-5	38	0	
Some U	18	0	
U. Deg.	-		
T. NOT ATTENDING	15,559		

Source: Census of Canada





TABLE VII (i)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Saskatchewan  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

SASKATCHEWAN -	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	5,660	53	33
PRE-1	13	0	33
1-4	4,008	24	57
5-8	6,204	37	94
H	745	4	98
H-3	134	1	99
H-4	99	1	100
H-5	18	0	
Some U	16	0	
U. Deg.	7	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	16,904		100

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (j)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Alberta  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

ALBERTA	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	4,918	32	32
PRE-1	4	0	
1-4	3,454	22	54
5-8	5,683	37	91
H	957	6	97
H-3	170	1	98
H-4	101	1	99
H-5	38	0	
Some U	25	0	
U. Deg.	6	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	15,356		99

Source: Census of Canada





TABLE VII (k)

Indian/Eskimo Population of British Columbia  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

BRITISH COLUMBIA	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	5,325	25	25
PRE-1	22	0	0
1-4	4,663	22	47
5-8	8,352	39	86
H	1,983	9	95
H-3	429	2	97
H-4	342	2	99
H-5	100	0	
Some U	46	0	
U. Deg.	12	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	21,274		99

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (1)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Yukon  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

YUKON	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	586	46	46
PRE-1			46
1-4	230	18	64
5-8	379	30	94
H	64	5	99
H-3	14	1	100
H-4	6	0	
H-5	3	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	1,282		100

Source: Census of Canada



TABLE VII (m)

Indian/Eskimo Population of Northwest Territories  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	6,024	71	71
PRE-1	13	0	71
1-4	1,328	16	87
5-8	878	10	97
H	167	2	99
H-3	22	0	
H-4	24	0	
H-5	20	0	
Some U	3	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	8,479		99

Source: Census of Canada





TABLE VIII

Educational Level of Indian/Eskimo Population  
Still Attending School, 1961

	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
PRE-1	1,202	2	2
1-4	32,534	59	61
5-8	16,803	31	92
H	3,035	5	97
H-3	627	1	98
H-4	373	1	99
H-5	134	0	
Some U	67	0	
U. Deg.	13	0	
ATTENDING	54,788		99

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



TABLE IX (a)  
 Indian/Eskimo Farm Population 5 Years  
 of Age and Over Not Attending School, 1961

CANADA - FARM	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	1,877	23	23
PRE-1	1	0	23
1-4	1,562	19	42
5-8	3,784	47	89
H	635	8	97
H-3	107	1	98
H-4	61	1	99
H-5	35	0	
Some U	14	0	
U. Deg.	2	0	
NOT ATTENDING	8,078		99

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



TABLE IX (b)

Indian/Eskimo Rural Non-Farm Population  
5 Years of Age and Over Not Attending School, 1961

CANADA - NON FARM	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	36,844	37	37
PRE-1	89	0	
1-4	23,023	23	60
5-8	31,907	32	92
H	4,868	5	97
H-3	909	1	98
H-4	668	1	99
H-5	213	0	
Some U	116	0	
U. Deg.	28	0	
NOT ATTENDING	98,665		99

Source: Census of Canada, 1961





TABLE IX (c)

Indian/Eskimo Urban Population 5 Years  
of Age and Over Not Attending School, 1961

CANADA - URBAN	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
NONE	2,811	16	16
PRE-1	17	0	
1-4	2,524	15	31
5-8	7,101	41	72
H	2,924	17	89
H-3	711	4	93
H-4	685	4	97
H-5	311	2	99
Some U	118	1	100
U. Deg.	87	0	
T. NOT ATTENDING	17,289		100

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



TABLE X (a)

Educational Level of Indian/Eskimo Farm Population  
Still Attending School, 1961

CANADA - FARM	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
PRE-1	30	1	1
1-4	2,369	55	56
5-8	1,451	34	90
H	293	7	97
H-3	76	2	99
H-4	33	1	100
H-5	14	0	
Some U	9	0	
U. Deg.	-		
ATTENDING	4,275		100

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



TABLE X (b)

Educational Level of Indian/Eskimo Rural  
Non-Farm Population Still Attending

CANADA - NON FARM	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
PRE-1	943	2	2
1-4	26,984	61	63
5-8	13,134	30	93
H	2,088	5	98
H-3	387	1	99
H-4	223	1	100
H-5	74	10	
Some U	23	0	
U. Deg.	5	0	
ATTENDING	43,861		100

Source: Census of Canada, 1961





TABLE X (c)

Educational Level of Indian/Eskimo Urban Population  
Still Attending School, 1961

CANADA - URBAN	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
PRE-1	229	3	3
1-4	3,181	49	52
5-8	2,218	33	85
H	654	10	95
H-3	164	2	97
H-4	117	2	99
H-5	46	1	100
Some U	35	0	
U. Deg.	8	0	
T. ATTENDING	6,652		100

Source: Census of Canada, 1961



The figures for Indians and Eskimos still in school indicate substantial improvement in recent years in number of grades completed. Authors of the works reviewed here lament the serious lag in the pace of education until the past decade or so, but almost all assert that impressive improvements are being made. These improvements are, of course, particularly remarkable for Indians and Eskimos in the remotest regions, for these started virtually at zero only a decade or so ago.

Except in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, where the public school systems are ethnically integrated, the Indians attend a variety of types of school. Apart from the few who attend hospital and private schools, Indians and Eskimos attend the following types of school: residential schools operated by religious orders, where pupils come to live and learn along with other Indians from their regions and of their own religious denomination; day schools on the reserves, run directly by the Indian Affairs Branch and exclusively for registered Indians - Metis pupils are not accepted; and provincial public schools, referred to in the literature as 'integrated' schools, where Indian pupils share space with non-Indians and Metis.



During the past twenty-five years, the proportion of children in Indian residential schools has dropped significantly. In 1940, almost 50% of Indian pupils attended residential schools, while only 19% did so in 1964. The Indian day school population increased from about 50% in 1940 to about 59% in 1964, and the proportion attending 'integrated' schools rose from 1% in 1940 to 41% in 1964. The federal government encourages the trend towards attendance at provincial public schools, reverting to a policy which was almost implemented before confederation, then virtually abandoned.

Before 1860 little provision was made for Indian education except for a few missionary schools, and in a few cases where Indian leaders such as Joseph Brant got some government support for Indian schools. After confederation the Federal government became slightly involved in Indian education. By 1867 there was a small but significant body of legislation that could have served as a basis for further educational development. The pre-confederation trend to assumption of responsibility for Indian education by the provincial or local government rather than the central authority was reversed, however, until 1947. It is impossible to determine whether the cause of Indian education would have been advanced had it been left with the provinces after





confederation, but many authors of the works reviewed feel that policy became increasingly restrictive and paternalistic, that federal policy represented a backward step. An example was the bill in 1894 by which authority to formulate regulations with respect to school attendance was transferred from the band councils operating under the Indian Act to the Governor-in-Council. This applied only to residential schools since day schools were considered to be the responsibility of the Indian community until 1927, even though the majority of bands had neither the financial nor human resources for establishing and operating schools.

By World War II the amorphous collection of institutions showed signs of becoming a federal system of education. Since the late 'forties there has been a sharply increased awareness and concern about the problems besetting Indian and Eskimo education on the part of public and officials. As far as Indian education is concerned the trend is towards the decentralization of responsibility and authority to the provincial and local government levels. This is, of course, part of the overall trend towards the extension of provincial services of all kinds to the Indian people. The method applied in most cases where Indian and Eskimo pupils are enrolled in Provincial or municipal schools is for the federal government to pay so much per pupil to the school



authority. The lead in this endeavour has been provided by the Northwest Territories and British Columbia which have provided legislative bases for cooperation between federal and provincial levels, and this lead has been followed by other provinces. In 1964 at the Federal-Provincial Conference on Indian Affairs all agreed that the educational services in each province should be available to Indian children and that, with the consent of the Indian bands, the administration of Indian education could be progressively transferred to the control of local boards under provincial jurisdiction.

In evaluating the educational programs among Indians and Eskimos we must be continually reminded of how recent it is that serious and sustained concern were first devoted to this matter on a large scale. We have already noted this point in connection with the Eskimos. As far as the Indians are concerned, less than one half of the children of school age were enrolled in any school in 1927. The percentage of the Indian population in school doubled between 1940 and 1964. Related to this point is another that has to do with curriculum. Until recently, the relatively few Indians and Eskimos who did receive formal education in residential and day schools followed programs which were quite different from those followed by their non-Indian, non-Eskimo contemporaries. The curricula were often deliberately tailored





to what were considered to be special Indian and Eskimo needs and aptitudes. This is what one author calls the 'milieu' theory of education in which the emphasis is on preparing the person to live in his milieu of origin, rather than preparing him to compete in a great variety of settings outside of his milieu of origin. Thus the stress on housekeeping, mechanical and farming techniques, handicrafts, special physical skills, at the expense of more 'academic' learning, except for the acquisition of the English or French language and religious training. The trend now is towards the more generalized and non-specific curriculum which is not geared to any particular milieu, except for vocational education.

Indian and Eskimo parents have very little voice in the planning of curricula for their children. According to our sources, the majority of parents feel that education is desirable but have little understanding of the content of education apart from such obvious items as learning the language of the majority, arithmetic, and certain vocational subjects. Thus conflicts over what the curricula should be for Indian and Eskimo pupils is mostly between educational authorities and between members of the general Canadian public who profess a keen interest in the welfare of the native peoples. In the debate over curricula, the persons





who insist on the application of the 'milieu' theory noted above are losing ground to the generalists, those who advise a more academic policy.

Another problem and subject of debate associated with Indian education in particular is that of the integration of Indian pupils into public schools. This is not such an issue with Eskimo pupils as there are so few opportunities in their local communities to get into ordinary public schools, very few of which are to be found in the Arctic. The argument in favour of integrated schooling for Indian children is based primarily on its social value, in the sense that it exposes Indians and non-Indians to one another. The dominant opinion in the works we have read seems to be that readiness for integration cannot be achieved in a segregated school, whether a residential one or a day school on a reserve, and that integrated schooling should begin as early as possible. Reluctance to accept school integration has been partly due to a desire to keep children in schools in which religion is taught; the fear that children will suffer emotionally or that their performance would deteriorate because of feelings of inferiority; fear that children will lose their Indian identity or that the reserve system will be threatened; reluctance to have children take long bus or boat rides.



Exponents of the religious residential schools argue that the achievement level of those who attend these schools is higher than in both the reserve day schools or the provincial public schools. What little systematically derived data there is on this issue bears them out. Among other arguments in favour of the residential schools is that they provide a bridge between Indian and non-Indian environments and a good sample of some of the best aspects of non-Indian culture; and that they take many children away from a very poor home environment which is not conducive to learning.

Counter-arguments by those in favour of integrated schools emphasize the insulation of the Indian child in residential schools from both the Indian community environment and the non-Indian one, incapacitating him for life in either of them. Against the reserve day school, these arguments emphasize the low literacy environment which may mitigate against progress in acquiring the majority language. Another claim by those in favour of integrated schooling, in particular against the reserve day school system, is that Indian children in integrated schools take more of an interest in their housing conditions and clothing and encourage parents to adopt the standards of the non-Indian childrens' parents. It should be added that this pressure on parents to upgrade their standard of living causes some





difficulty for parents who are hard put to expand their incomes. According to the reports reviewed, the most common excuses for absenteeism of Indian pupils in integrated schools are lack of clothing and lunches for the children.

On the subject of absenteeism in both day schools and public schools, the reports reviewed make frequent mention of illness, malnutrition, migration of families in search of employment - all of which are characteristic of a depressed population, Indian or otherwise. These reports also stress the unfavourable situation for study in the average Indian, Metis and Eskimo home, overcrowded as it is, with poor lighting, no facilities for privacy, with little understanding on the part of parents about the needs for special arrangements for students, even if they could provide for these needs. The recently announced housing schemes for Indians and Eskimos should contribute substantially to the provision of better 'support' facilities in the home for Indian pupils.

Another item which receives much attention in the works reviewed for this report is that of language and age retardation. Most Eskimo and many Indian and Metis children have little or no knowledge of the majority language when they come to school for the first time. They must spend most of their first year just getting used to this foreign





language. This inhibits their progress and the initial retardation persists throughout their years at school. It is clear from the reports reviewed that in the past language difficulty has been a major cause of age grade retardation and dropping out. Age retardation refers to the piling up in the lower grades through repeated failure and a marked thinning out in the upper grades. Many reach the legal school-leaving age before they enter grade eight and leave school with less than a primary school education. This cuts them off from those vocational training programs which do not begin until the high school grades or which require candidates to have some high school background.

Educational authorities have recognized the special language difficulties confronting pupils from homes where the Indian or Eskimo language is the mother tongue and have launched kindergarten programs geared chiefly to language acquisition. They have also devised special language classes for those beyond kindergarten. One half hour of oral language training a day has been mandatory since 1962. According to reports, where this course is followed the majority of six and seven year old non-English or non-French speakers with no previous kindergarten training can now cover Grade One provincial courses of studies during their first year of school. Through its kindergarten or



pre-school program and its special language instruction, the IAB educational authorities hope to bring into line the present gap between the age of the pupil and the grade which is normal for his age in the larger society.

There has not been much research on the impact of schooling on the psychological make-up of the Indian, Metis and Eskimo child. Here and there one finds mention of feelings of inferiority engendered by exposure to the 'white' values and interpretation of history which unintentionally disvalues the Indian contribution and implicitly relegates the pre-contact way of life of Indians and Eskimos to the bygone world of 'savagery', but this subject is not pursued systematically in the readings we consulted. Attempts to prevent such psychological damage and to direct and harness the motivation of pupils are made in the context of orientation courses for teachers. The Department of Northern Affairs provides some orientation materials for its teachers in the Arctic. The University of Saskatchewan also provides special orientation courses for teachers of Indian and Metis pupils. In several of the reports consulted the point is made that much more remains to be done in this matter of teacher training for the special cultural conditions which confront teachers among the native peoples.



Another point which is made in several references is the sorry state of adult education among Indians and Eskimos. What is stressed in these references is not only the value of adult education to the direct consumers of it but the importance of adult education in getting across to parents the values of education for their children. As it is, involvement of parents is minimal, the school a separate world upon which they can have no influence. Increased parental interest and participation in education would lessen suspicion of integrated schooling and would help remove some home conditions unfavourable to their childrens' progress.







ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Where ethnic origin is not a good predictor or indicator of where people fit into the occupational and income hierarchies we have a system of equality of opportunity and a lack of 'specialization' according to ethnic origin in the economy. Various studies show that in Canada ethnic origin is a fairly good predictor of where people are likely to be placed in the economic system, at least in its top and bottom reaches. It is a particularly good predictor as far as the Indians, Metis and Eskimos are concerned, for the majority of these occupy the lowest occupational status positions, have the lowest incomes and the lowest standard of living in the country. Table XI reveals clustering in the lowest paid jobs for the native Indians. Equivalent statistics for the Metis and Eskimos are not available, but the abundant field studies reported in the literature consulted for this review leave no room for doubt. While the standard of living is for most of them higher than it was a generation ago, it appears that the disparity between it and the standard of living enjoyed by the majority of Whites is actually growing.

Modern society is characterised by a swelling in white collar employment and in skilled trades, but the majority of Indians, Metis and Eskimos rely on the basic resource industries such as fishing, trapping, hunting, lumbering and farm



labour for their livelihood. This is true even where mining and other developments flourish on the very doorsteps of native communities in the frontier areas: some find employment during the construction phase, but few take part in the actual production process. Small numbers of Eskimos are being fed into the industrial work force in the northern part of Manitoba and the southern part of the Northwest Territories in a government on-the-job training project in conjunction with mining and railroad interests and initial reports on this scheme indicate that the Eskimos adapt satisfactorily to industrial employment. Fewer than one hundred are taking part in this project, but it is worth reporting as a kind of 'breakthrough' experiment which could be the first step in larger-scale involvement of Eskimo people in the mainstream of industrial and commercial life.

As for the Indians and Metis, provision for such on-the-job schemes exist, but from our perusal of the literature are only rarely used. We noted in our readings the growing alarm of mining interests in the north about their work force. They point out how they have to import workers into their areas and how they must offer inducements to get their employees to stay. Various solutions have been suggested in these reports: encourage immigrants from abroad to take up employment in these mines; provide television service and better recreational facilities at public expense, and so on. In no report examined



TABLE XIOccupation distribution

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Canada</u>
Managerial	1%	10.2%
Professional & technical	2%	7.6%
Clerical	2%	6.9%
Sales	1%	5.6%
Service & recreation	17.0%	8.5%
Transport & communication	3%	7.5%
Farmers, farm workers	17%	12.2%
Loggers, related workers	9%	1.7%
Fishermen, trappers, hunters	15%	.8%
Miners, quarrymen & related	1%	1.4%
Craftsmen, production process & related	16%	28.8%
Labourers	12%	6.2%
Not Stated	3%	2.6%
Total	99%	100.00%

Sources: DBS, special tape, 20% sample (Indians) census of  
Canada, 1961 (Canada)







was it suggested that the substantial Indian and Metis populations in these very areas be drawn into the mining work force, a commentary on the alienation of these people from the mainstream of industrial life.

There are, of course, exceptions here and there in these remote areas where Indians and Metis do take part in small numbers in permanent productive activities. Furthermore in larger urban centres some few thousands of Indians whose reserves are close by find regular employment, for instance, the Caughnawagha Indians in structural steel work and the Squamish of Vancouver as longshoremen and stevedores. But for most of the people in remote areas employment is casual or non-existent. A large proportion of Indians, Metis and Eskimos are in effect unemployed, even though they do not fall within that definition for purposes of unemployment insurance.

There are a number of reasons advanced in the reports consulted for the employment situation, many of them involving imputed differences between the White culture and the culture of the other people. In some reports reviewed, writers opine that the demands of modern industry are the antithesis of traditional hunting and trapping patterns. They point out that the native people may work intensively for a period of time - days, weeks, even months - to gain a livelihood, but that once they have gotten what they need, they stop work until



need of money presses again. Consequently they acquire the reputation of being unreliable and untrustworthy. They then find that employers will refuse to hire them at all.

In these reports other factors that contribute to absenteeism and dropping out among Indians and Metis are advanced. It is said that there are strong ties with families and communities. Since many jobs are off the reserve or away from the home communities, the people must leave their families and friends behind. After a period of time, they wish to return and they leave their jobs for no apparent reason. Employers generalize from such experiences to all 'natives'. A stereotype is created which includes a belief that all Indians, Metis and Eskimos are inherently lazy and unreliable. It is worth noting that in not one report consulted is there detailed evidence presented as to actual rates of absenteeism or dropping out from actual jobs.

When opportunities are open to Indians and Metis - and this appears to be less true of the Eskimos - they may still remain unemployed. They often lack the necessary training and skills, and they cannot adapt to changing techniques of production. According to reports, even when they do get jobs, Indians and Metis do not stand up for their rights as forcefully as do Whites, preferring to quit a job rather than challenge their employers.





These factors explain for many students of the subject why native peoples continue to be channeled to employment in the primary or basic resource industries. But even here they meet numerous problems that limit their success and make it nearly impossible for them to keep pace with the demand of themselves and their families for a rising standard of living. In many areas the fish, game and forest resources are diminishing and local populations are growing too quickly in terms of local resources.

For example, in British Columbia, the Indians in the fishing industry face certain problems which are not peculiarly 'Indian'. The fishing industry as a whole has experienced a loss of foreign markets, rising costs in operations, lower prices with consequent drops in income, and so on. Apart from this, the Indians face certain special difficulties. In the early days, the canning companies established canneries along the coast of British Columbia; although the Indians had a reputation for being less efficient and more careless with equipment than the "whites" and Japanese, the canning companies financed them because in the bargain they also got the Indian wives who would work in the canneries for low pay and under poor conditions. With advances in transportation and refrigeration, most of the canneries on the coast were closed and larger ones built in the urban centers far from the reserves





and where there were large pools of non-Indian labour. Now that they no longer needed Indian women, the canning companies were less willing to finance fishing operations for the Indians. The Indians cannot get credit from other sources to buy new equipment or maintain what they have. With larger boats, the non-Indian can fish farther off shore and catch almost the fish quota there. This may close down the in-shore fishing and displace many of the Indians from the industry.

In other parts of the country the population is growing too fast for the supply of fish available. If fishing is to provide an adequate living for any Indians or Metis, there will have to be fewer fishermen.

The lumbering industry, like the canning operations in the fishing industry, is undergoing consolidation and centralization. This means that in order to get jobs, Indians must leave their reserves for long periods of time. On the other hand, lumbering operations have had to move away from the urban centres to find new supplies of timber. In some cases they move into areas where the population is predominantly Indian. This offers new employment opportunities to the Indians. However unless they can adjust to technical advancements such as power saws (and can afford to buy these saws) they may not be able to take advantage of these opportunities.



The trapping industry has its problems too. In some parts of the country - e.g., British Columbia - lumbering operations have cut out trap line areas. In Saskatchewan, the Fur Marketing Service compels the Metis trappers to sell their furs to government officers. The Hudson Bay Company and private traders refuse to advance enough credit to enable the trappers to remain on their trap lines for much more than a week at a time. There are long delays in the payment of cheques from the marketing service; the trappers must remain near post offices and by the time their cheques arrive they have spent the money they had and are in debt. The Block Conservation System sets limits on the number of muskrat and beaver that can be caught on a sustained yield basis; however, the boundaries do not take into account the increasing population. The strain on the resources forces younger men to leave the communities to become migrant workers.

Agriculture has not been successful among most of the Indians and Metis and is of no consequence to the Eskimos. Often they have poor and insufficient land and do not have the resources to acquire more or better land. Farming often lacks an attraction because of the long hours of drudgery with little return for the amount of effort and its original identification with the role of women and "outsiders". In addition, it is often said that Indians and Metis generally do not have long term outlooks so necessary for an agrarian pattern of life.





Many Indians and Metis might be able to improve their status in the primary industries or in other lines of employment if they had the necessary capital. However their poor reputation as workers and their lack of collateral (in the case of Indians, property on reserves cannot be alienated and therefore cannot be used as collateral) make them poor credit risks to banks and loan companies. Indians cannot sell land or other real property on the reserve to accumulate money capital. There are some provisions for loans for Indians, but they are inadequate. The Revolving Loan Fund for all of Canada puts a limit of \$10,000 on the amount any one individual can borrow. In British Columbia, there is the B.C. Special Vote, an annual appropriation of \$100,000. But this money, as well as most of the loans from the Revolving Fund, tends to go to agriculture which benefits most Indians very little. Another factor that militates against the accumulation of capital is the norm among Indians, and probably among many Metis, of sharing any fortune one might have. While this may be essential to a subsistence existence, it discourages individual entrepreneurship.

There are some Indians and Metis who have been successful in the primary industries. Others have gone into various businesses such as stores, taxis, and trucking businesses. Some have become professionals such as doctors and lawyers.





Such people have taken their place alongside the rest of the population. However, they represent only a small minority of the Indian-Metis population. Most hold low status, seasonal and/or temporary jobs with little hope of advancement. It is said that the transition from the traditional way of life to the modern western society involves a phase of temporary and casual employment; but these jobs have seldom led to permanent employment.

In the fields of employment where they are concentrated, the native peoples do come into contact with union activities and labour disputes. Information is available only for British Columbia, but the findings are likely to be applicable to other parts of Canada. In the primary industries, especially fishing, common problems have produced some group sentiment among Indians and Whites. Indians tend to be in sympathy with the aims of the labour unions and will support them in disputes. But in the fishing industry they remain apart from union membership and in other industries where they do join, they play only a passive role in the actual union activity. Especially in fishing, they have preferred to have their own organization, the Native Brotherhood. They distrust the unions because of a fear of being dominated by the Whites, of discrimination in the past, and the militancy of unions like the United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union. They also want to run their own affairs. However, the Native Brotherhood has not



been as forceful as other unions, and this has cost the Indians in terms of benefits. Thus, while the Whites and Indians do co-operate to some extent in collective bargaining (the Native Brotherhood usually concludes agreements similar to White unions) there is still no feeling of union solidarity which cuts across ethnic boundaries.

On the whole, there is little integration of the people of Indian descent into White Canadian society through employment. Since Indians and Metis do not generally hold jobs of equal statuses to Whites , one would not expect the incomes to be comparable. The main sources of income are the primary industries and casual employment. For many Indians and Eskimos Government welfare is a major or significant source of income. In some communities, cloes to 50% of the income is from welfare. If it were not for domestic gathering and hunting, subsistence for a certain number of these people would be impossible.

A few words should be added concerning development projects in local communities, projects which aim to reduce the economic dependence of the people while at the same time providing them with opportunities to take an active part in decision-making. Documentation on such projects is most plentiful for the Eskimos among whom a cooperative movement of considerable significance is developing. The economic aspect of these cooperatives



concerns the production, processing, and marketing of country foods, handicrafts, Arctic garments and the like. One gathers from reports that in four or five communities these cooperatives have made a notable economic impact, but that in the big picture, considering the sharply increasing population, they are best regarded as a kind of 'holding operation' whose significance is primarily social and psychological. We were able to find very little information on such local economic development projects among Indians and Metis. Indian Affairs Branch and some provincial and territorial governments have in recent years launched development projects but it is still too early to evaluate their progress in economic terms.







MAINTENANCE OF CULTURAL DISTINCTIVENESS

To do an adequate job of assessing from the abundant literature the degree to which various Indian and Eskimo groups maintain traditional cultural practices, traits and values and how these have been modified would require a full-scale investigation in itself. We confine ourselves in this report to general impressions regarding language usage as one indicator of cultural distinctiveness, in addition to presenting a statement by two people of Indian descent on those ways of thinking and feeling which they and a number of anthropological and other writers on Indian life see as the foundation of Indian personality. This statement, by Duke Redbird and Wilfrid Pelletier, is presented in Appendix B.

Language

One reason that we cannot consider the people of Indian and Eskimo ancestry as an ethnic group equivalent, say, to the French-Canadian, English-Canadian, Ukrainian-Canadian, and the like, is that there is no one language which serves as a symbol of distinctive identity at the national level. Students of language classify Indian languages into linguistic groups or stocks, much as they classify Indo-European languages into such types as Romance, Teutonic, Ural-Altaic, and so on. For Canada such a classification yields ten Indian and one Eskimo language grouping or stock, as follows: Algonkian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Athapaskan, Tsimshian, Wakashan, Salishan, Kootenayan,



Haida, Tlingit. The Eskimos are more homogeneous than the Indians as far as language is concerned, but it is difficult for people in the Western Arctic to communicate easily with those of the Eastern Arctic without the help of interpreters. Each of the Indian stocks listed above contains from one to fifteen different languages or dialects, most of which are mutually unintelligible, even though belonging to the same stock. One practical consequence of this diversity is that in order for an individual Indian to communicate with another from a different language background, unless he also knows the other Indian language, he must use either English or French or communicate through an interpreter.



TABLE XII

## INDIANS AND ESKIMOS: LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION

Province	Mother tongue Indian/Eskimo language	Mother tongue English	Mother tongue French	Official language English	Official language French	Official language both French & English	Official lan- guage neither French nor English
Canada	71.4%	26.7%	1.7%	76.6%	2.3%	1.8%	19.2%
Nfld & Labrador	78 %	22 %	0 %	46 %	0 %	1 %	53 %
Nova Scotia	71 %	27 %	0 %	91 %	0 %	1 %	7 %
New Brunswick	87 %	11 %	1 %	81 %	0 %	3 %	16 %
Prince Edward Is.	46 %	53 %	1 %	96 %	1 %	3 %	0 %
Quebec	76 %	11 %	12 %	31 %	23 %	8 %	38 %
Ontario	54 %	45 %	1 %	82 %	0 %	2 %	16 %
Manitoba	85 %	14 %	1 %	78 %	0 %	1 %	21 %
Saskatchewan	80 %	19 %	1 %	78 %	0 %	2 %	19 %
Alberta	87 %	13 %	0 %	84 %	0 %	1 %	15 %
British Columbia	55 %	45 %	0 %	98 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
Yukon	60 %	40 %	0 %	99 %	0 %	0 %	1 %
N.W.T.	92 %	7 %	1 %	40 %	0 %	2 %	57 %

Source: Census of Canada, 1961.





Unfortunately, from the census data we cannot discover how many Indians use their own language most often, how many are fluent in more than one Indian language, or the age distribution of speakers of own language. We do know from the census (which does not separate Indians from Eskimos) that only 19% speak exclusively an Indian or Eskimo tongue. At least we can infer this, for 19% are reported as having neither English or French as their official language. It should be noted here that the chief aim of the census language question is to discover which of the official languages - that is, English or French - the people of Canada speak. Field work reports on the Eskimos indicate that in most places fewer than 20% can speak English or French. This would suggest that a substantial proportion of the 19% Indians and Eskimos reported as having neither English or French would be Eskimos. The regional distribution indicates that in the most remote regions (North-west Territories, Newfoundland-Labrador) the bulk of the non-English and non-French speakers are to be found. In other words, the Indian or Eskimo languages survive most viably in the remote areas. In some urban regions (e.g., Squamish of Vancouver, Caughnawagha near Montreal, Six Nations near Brantford) the majority are not fluent in their Indian language.

As Table XII shows, the great majority of Indians in Canada speak English, or at least report English as their 'official' language (the one of Canada's two official languages



which they use). Only 2% are reported as having French as the official language the great majority of these are in Quebec. Less than 2% are bilingual in English and French. However, the great majority of Indians appear to be bilingual, in their own language and English: 71% are reported as having Indian-Eskimo mother tongue, while 76% are reported as having English as the official language. These statistics on language usage tell us nothing about fluency, of course. The reports reviewed in connection with education suggest that many thousands of Indian and Eskimo children are far from fluent in English or French.

Another source of information on language usage is in W.L. Chafe's article, "Estimates Regarding the Present Speakers of North American Indian Languages." A summary of the findings in this study appears as Appendix A. The estimates are extremely rough ones and for some important groups no estimates are provided. However, they do seem to confirm the data on language usage from the census giving the proportion of Indians whose mother tongue is an Indian one in the different provinces, the highest being North West Territories (92%) and the lowest Prince Edward Island, 46% (See Table XII). The majority of Indians in that province, 53%, report English as their mother tongue; such people are not likely to be fluent in an Indian language. Ontario has 46% of its Indian population reported as of English mother tongue. The bulk of this group is





concentrated in southern and central Ontario. British Columbia also has 45% of its Indian population reported as of English mother-tongue. It is in these three provinces that average grade of schooling completed is the highest (see page 24).

The vast majority of transactions requiring contact with the non-Indian public and agencies are conducted in English with or without interpreters. Teaching is in that language, or in French in a few schools in Quebec. Some missionaries use the language of the people they serve. In fact it was early missionaries who provided Cree Indians and Eskimos with syllabic scripts, used originally for the translation of scriptures, but used more widely as time went by as a medium for letter writing, the dissemination of official information, and so on. The syllabic script is used by many older Eskimos and by a few thousand northern Indians. The tendency now is to use latin script where attempts are made to transmit written messages in a native language.

The Indians and Eskimos are exposed to more and more messages from the media of printed publications, radio, television, movies. Only a tiny proportion of these messages are in the Eskimo or one of the Indian languages. In the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, in liaison with the Indian-Eskimo Association, have introduced a forum type of broadcast in which the various Indian languages of the Mackenzie, as well as the Eskimo language, are used.





In southern regions we found no evidence that such projects were being attempted. The very diversity of Indian languages mentioned earlier renders such programs unfeasible, where the non-Indian people form a majority and wave-length slots are scarce. Thus, except in the far North broadcasting and telecasting, where it includes Indian content, is transmitted in English or French, and is prepared by non-Indians. It is almost always slanted to present to the non-Indians the 'problems' of the Indians, as defined by non-Indian experts.

Language diversity is also a factor governing the exclusive use of one of the 'official' languages in printed publications directed towards Indians. There are several publications of national and regional scope aimed at Indian readers. The Indian Affairs Branch publishes the Indian Voice, the editorial staff of which includes Indian people. Its aim is primarily to demonstrate to Indian people that Indians can achieve success in the larger society, winning awards of various kinds in education, art, athletics, and so on. There are a few publications, published irregularly by Indian organizations, which act primarily as organs of protest and expressions of Indian views, but these suffer chronically from financial and other ailments, reducing their potential effectiveness in creating a pan-Indian feeling and consensus. A new development is the publication of newsletters and newspapers by Friendship Centres, discussed in the final section of this report. Although



we lack the data to permit conclusive generalizations, we feel we can safely say that the Indian 'ethnic' press has facilities which are much more limited than the press of other ethnic groups in Canada.

As we intimated earlier, we cannot provide even an estimate of how the expressive culture of Indian and Eskimo groups is faring in the changing society. We know that, ironically, certain products of Indian and Eskimo artists and craftsmen are regarded by Canadians and non-Canadians as symbols of Canada. We say ironically, because these are the least integrated ethnic groups in Canadian society. But the Ookpik doll, the small totem poles, the carvings and prints produced by the original inhabitants have come to symbolize what it is that distinguishes Canada from other countries. With the exception of such objects as the wooden figurines produced by French-Canadian craftsmen, the products of the Group of Seven and a few other artists, it is the expressive output of Canada's Indians and Eskimos which give the country a certain distinction.

Turning to other aspects of traditional Indian and Eskimo folk culture, we find that much of it has been commercialized, or turned into a resource for the native people, and is consumed by tourists. Performances of dances, reconstructions of historical events, demonstrations of travel techniques, and the like are usually modelled after the non-Indian literary and moving picture versions of Indian culture in order to appeal





to the consumer. At the same time, there goes on among some Indian groups a continual series of expressive activities, such as the Sun Dance among the Indians of the Plains, the various Longhouse Ceremonies among the Iroquian people which are regarded by the Indian people as their exclusive property, and not part of the front they present to the non-Indians. It would be worth discovering the extent to which this kind of expressive activity contributes to the feeling of solidarity and distinctiveness for Indian people.

Anthropologists often point out how much of the traditional expressive culture of Indians and Eskimos maintains what appears to be a faint life, out of the public, non-Indian eye, particularly where there are few outsiders. We refer here especially to such things as magical and witchcraft practices. The data available for this survey does not warrant our generalising on this matter.

It is stated by many Indians and Eskimos and students of their way of life that the most profound level of culture, that which has to do with basic values and personality, is still a bubbling universe, not very much touched by outside forces, even among people who have adopted the styles and public attitudes of the Whites. This is still very much a moot question, much debated among people interested in the matter. In Appendix B we present without comment the view of two people of Indian ancestry on this issue.





In closing, we present in this section what appear to be the most significant points about Indian and Eskimo culture. The view of the dominant majority has been explicitly or implicitly that these people had better give up their language and distinctive culture (except for the touristic 'folk culture' features) and become assimilated. This view is not often stated publicly or even explicitly formulated privately, but implicit in the statements and policies of opinion leaders and decision makers is that it is only a matter of time before the native peoples of Canada blend into the total population. The fact that this has not happened after a few hundred years to the bulk of native people suggests that certain basic assumptions about the nature of culture be examined. Where cultural assimilation has occurred, for example, where English is the mother tongue and where people act much as do the non-Indians around them in their everyday life, this does not mean that social assimilation has occurred, that the people are desirous of shedding their ethnic identity or that, even if they are, they are welcomed socially by the majority.



## ORGANIZATION

The writings consulted had very little information on how Indian and Eskimo groups organize for other than local government purposes. There are several references to the absence of, or limited development of, what we would call formal organization for the great majority of native peoples. It is claimed by some that the type of organization common among non-Indian people - formally organized bodies with executives, constitutions, explicit rules of procedure, and so on - is not in keeping with the Indian character and culture. The same point is often made with reference to the Eskimos. The Indians in the southern portions of Canada, and particularly in Ontario had developed ways of organizing for purposes of warfare, diplomacy, and the maintenance of order, but for the great majority of original inhabitants these matters were handled informally and without the creation of new structures outside the extended family and band. It is implied in the statements of some writers that the native peoples will never be organized on anything other than a strictly local basis unless they 'lose' their distinctive cultural outlook concerning formal organization. However, in our inquiries we discovered that a considerable amount of organizing activity is going on among Indians and Eskimos. In this section we confine the discussion to a few trends in organization which appear to be of actual or potential significance.





One trend is towards linking up across community boundaries in regional organizations. We deal first with the people of Indian ancestry. One set of institutions developing within this cross-community trend is governmental. The Indian Affairs Branch has been pushing its program of regional advisory councils made up of Indians who are either appointed by federal or provincial governments or elected by the Indians. These councils are viewed primarily as sounding boards for projected government policies and as reflectors of Indian opinion within the region. The region is almost always defined as the province or territory. The individual band councils have the final say in approval or disapproval of programs and policies which require their sanction, but because there are so many of these, it is felt that some centralization or focussing is needed. It is too early to assess the effectiveness of these councils which, while officially advisory, can exert a considerable measure of influence.

No such regional grouping is reported for the Eskimos. However, one indication of communities linking up with one another is in the cooperative movement which appears to be fairly strong in the Arctic. Two reports suggest that links between different Eskimo cooperatives have more than simply economic significance; that pan-Eskimo feelings of solidarity and formation of Eskimo public opinion are being achieved





partly through this movement. Like the development of regional advisory councils noted above, the cooperative movement is also inspired by 'outsiders', government people, missionaries and the like.

Another trend is the development of regional and national associations which are invented by Indians and Metis people and run by them. These tend to take on the character of the familiar 'ethnic' associations in Canada. Most ethnic groups in Canada have organizations whose purposes are many and varied. Fraternal, educational, recreational, mutual benefit, political and other associations abound in this country and many of these were started by immigrants on the assumption that individuals who pool their efforts exert more influence than those who do not. Such associations function to establish consensus among like-thinkers, and put pressure on municipal, provincial and federal governments to act in ways which favour the ethnic group or section within it.

Some ethnic groups have a network of institutions in which the newcomer and his descendants, if they so desire, have a place. It is easy to see how newcomers moving into our society have their adjustment problems eased somewhat by the availability of such a network of institutions. If the newcomer wants, he can turn to his own ethnic associations, congregations, and so on, for aid and support and sociability. If he seeks he will



likely find a lawyer, doctor, insurance agent, or dealer from his own ethnic group. If he wants to do so he can read one or more of 130 newspapers published in Canada in languages other than English or French. In many large cities the newcomer can hear local radio broadcasts in his own tongue; some can go to movies in their own language; some go out to support their own soccer team. In short, the newcomer does not move from one world into another that is completely strange and foreign. The transition between his former and future way of life is made easier by the existence of a number of organized forms of aid, recreation, expression and interaction.

We gather from our readings that ~~that~~ is only in recent years that Indian organizations of equivalent scope and significance have appeared on the scene in strength. In every province except the Maritimes, organizations have been established by Indian and Metis people. The ones which appear to be coming closest to the achievement of their goals are the organizations, such as Friendship Houses, established in the towns and cities into which people of Indian ancestry are moving in ever greater numbers. These are much like the familiar immigrant ethnic organizations, which function chiefly to help newcomers fit into the local scene.

About a dozen of these Centres have been established since the first one was opened in Winnipeg (The Winnipeg Indian and Metis Friendship Centre) in 1959. Centres are now found in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Whitehorse, North Battleford,





Prince Albert, Regina, Leask, Churchill, Brandon, The Pas, Kenora, and Toronto. Most of these receive some financial support from federal, provincial, and municipal sources, although they are operated by Indian and Metis people with some help from interested outsiders. A unique feature of most of these Centres is that they are not exclusively for registered Indians, providing services for any persons of Indian origin such as Metis peoples, and conducting programs which include non-Indian people. One gathers from reports on these Centres that there is a pressing need for expansion of facilities and services because of the heavy use made of them by thousands of people. Besides providing welfare, adult educational and cultural services, these new institutions are centres for the gathering and disseminating of information. Four of them publish newsletters and two publish newspapers. Summing up, it appears that the trend to found and expand these immigrant-ethnic type of Centres is firmly established; evaluations of these institutions are usually favourable.

Evaluations of other kinds of organization, such as the regional or national ones not sponsored by government are not available in the materials on hand. We refer here to such organizations as the Native Brotherhood, the Saskatchewan Indian Federation, the Ontario Indian League, and the like. These organizations act as clearing houses for information, providing occasions for the exchange of views at conferences, and occasionally act as channels of protest or grievance. Difficulties are reported pertaining to sustained leadership, lack of finances to achieve objectives, and so on, but these organizations are showing signs of overcoming such difficulties.





Two organizations deserve special mention because they have assumed a national role. One of these is the Indian Eskimo Association which began in 1957 as a unit within the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Its executive is made up mostly of non-Indians and non-Eskimos but it does have a substantial rank and file membership among the native peoples. Its aims are to achieve better relations between the original peoples and others in Canada, to promote organization and the exchange of ideas among those interested in the native peoples, and to conduct specific projects of an adult educational and developmental nature.

The other organization with aspirations to act on a national scale is the National Indian Council, which was founded in 1960. The idea of the organization was to incorporate within it exclusively Indian associations from all parts of Canada. The original aims were threefold:

- a) to coordinate local and regional activities and thus provide facilities for self-help programs;
- b) to initiate new activities of both local and national scope which would, as an important by-product, provide opportunities for the emergence of Indian leaders;
- c) to present Canada's Indians to governments, civic bodies, and other groups.



This organization met with difficulties early in its life. From what we have learned here and there on these difficulties we are led to believe that the assessment of the N.I.C. as presented in a private communication from one of its vice-presidents is a reasonable and plausible one and we have decided to simply reproduce this assessment here.

"...The original leadership was drawn from among the 'nouveau urban' Indian community, Indian persons who had done fairly well in the White society. For this reason the original leadership was looked upon with much suspicion and misgiving by the 'reserve' Indian. Because it saw the need to establish firm relationships with government agencies in order to realize its objectives, the N.I.C. spent a good deal of its energy in the establishment of these relationships before it developed the confidence of the Indian people in the organization. Then, too, it assumed without question that the Indian people would naturally see the desirability of such an organization and therefore would automatically embrace the ideas that caused the wheels for the N.I.C. to be set moving. Both of these assumptions were subsequently found to be mistaken ones, but unfortunately not before much damage had been inflicted on the public image of the N.I.C. and its founders...

...The Indian people on the reserve did not understand much of the abstract philosophy and ideology articulated by the original members of the N.I.C., and many of them believed that they were about to be exploited by this new organization in much the same way as they had been exploited by others in the past. The large number of non-treaty Indians in capacities of leadership in the original executive created a reluctance among the treaty Indians to become involved with what they believed to be a non-Indian undertaking. These problems, besides problems of financing, caused the N.I.C. to flounder shortly after its initiation...

...Recently the N.I.C. has reassessed itself and its objectives. Some of the original objectives have been set aside for the moment and the present executive





is satisfied to concentrate its efforts in promoting unity and acting in a liaison capacity with Indian people and organization. This new approach has already had some effect upon the Indian people and more confidence and faith in the ability of the N.I.C. is being evidenced by the leadership."

One other development worth noting is the formation in 1965 of a National Indian Youth Council. Some of the younger members of the N.I.C., discussed above, have taken the initiative in forming this youth association, the first of its kind among Indians. One of the chief aims of this group is to encourage the young people who are graduating from the educational system to maintain an interest in the affairs of their people. As we just received notice about the formation of this association before going to press, we satisfy ourselves here with simple mention of it as part of the trend noted earlier towards the creation of regional and national bodies among people of Indian descent, one indication of an incipient pan-Indianism in Canada.





APPENDIX A

"Estimates Regarding The Present Speakers of North American Indian Languages", W.L. Chafe, International Journal of American Linguistics, V. 28, No. 3, July 1962, pp. 162-171.

The author attempts to make an estimate of the number of speakers of Indian languages in North American by canvassing anthropologists and others who have studied these different groups. We have extracted from his tables those groups who live entirely in Canada or who have some members in Canada. The results appear in table XIII.

A word of explanation of the Tables: The figures for the linguistic groups are for Canada only (note they were published in 1964). The figures for the number who actually speak the Indian languages and dialects and the areas where they are spoken come from a listing of Indian languages spoken in North America (note figures are for 1962). Some of these languages and dialects and the areas where they are spoken come from a listing of Indian languages spoken in North America rather than just Canada. Therefore, the figures will in some cases include those in the U.S. This is indicated by the "area" for dialects and languages. The language and dialect affiliation figures for Canada are listed under "Number in Canada".



In some cases, there are no figures for the number who speak a language or dialect. This is due to the criteria used: "languages and major dialects, i.e. dialects which for geographical or other reasons have traditionally been treated as separate entities." (p. 163, Chafe!).



TABLE XIII

1. Linguistic group: Algonkian		Area:	Eastern and Central Woodlands	Number in Canada:	125,871
Dialects and languages	Area		Number in Canada	Number of speakers (North America) (Areas listed)	Minimum age
Micmac	Nova Scotia, P.E.I., New Brunswick, Quebec		7,739	3,000 - 5,000	All ages
Malécite	N.B., Maine		1,531	600 - 700	Over 20
Cree	B.C., Alberta, Ont., Quebec, Montana		54,921	30,000 - 40,000	All ages
Montagnais Naskapi	Quebec		4,780 237	5,000	All ages
Potawatomi	Oklahoma, Kansas, Wisconsin, Mich.		783	None in Can.	---
Ojibwa	Sask., Man., Ont., Quebec, Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Mich.		45,553	40,000 - 50,000	All ages
Abenakis	Quebec		617	Approx. 50	Over 50
Delaware	Oklahoma, Ontario		563	10 - 100 (Fewer than 10 Munsee dialect in Canada)	Over 50





Ottawa	Mich. Oklahoma	1,414			
Blackfoot	Alberta, Montana	6,557		5,000 - 6,000	All ages
		<u>125,871</u>			
2. Linguistic group: Iroquoian					
	Area:	Southeastern Ontario		Number: 20, 191	
Dialects and languages	Area	Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)		Minimum age
Iroquois		19,243			
Huron		948	None in Can.		
		<u>20,191</u>			
3. Linguistic group: Siouan					
	Area:	Canadian prairies		Number: 5,507	
Dialects and languages	Area	Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)		Minimum age
Sioux		2,265			
Assiniboine	Montana, Alberta, Sask.	2,792	1,000 - 2,000		All ages
		<u>5,057</u>			



Number: 18,824

4. Linguistic group: Athapaskan      Area: Mackenzie River System and woodlands north of Churchill River, Canadian prairies, interior plateau of British Columbia and Yukon.

Dialects and languages	Area	Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)	Minimum age
Chipewyan	Alberta, Sask., Man., Mackenzie	4,149	3,000 - 4,000	All ages
Beaver	B.C., Alberta,	649	300	All ages
Slave	B.C., Alberta, Mackenzie	2,712	1,000 - 2,000	All ages
Sarcee	---	353	---	---
Carrier	B.C.	3,482	1,000 - 3,000	All ages
Chilcotin	B.C.	1,441	500 - 1,000	All ages
Nakani	---	853	---	---
Tahltan	B.C., Yukon	582	100 - 1,000	All ages
Kutchin	Alaska, Yukon, Mackenzie	1,055	1,200	All ages
Loucheux	---	1,188	---	---
Hare	Mackenzie	601	600	All ages
Dogrib	Mackenzie	968	800	All ages
Yellowknife	Mackenzie	433	400 - 600	All ages
		<hr/>		
		18,824		



5. Linguistic group: Tsimshian			Area: Coast of British Columbia		Number: 6,680
Dialects and languages	Area	Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)		Minimum age
Tsimshian	B.C., Alaska	2,547	3,000	All ages	
Gitskan	B.C., Alaska	2,151	less than 1,000	All ages	
Niska	B.C., Alaska	1,982	less than 1,000	All ages	
		<hr/> 6,680			

6. Linguistic group: Wakashan			Area: Coast of British Columbia		Number: 7,169
Dialects and languages	Area	Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)		Minimum age
Heiltsuk	B.C.	1,103	100 - 1,000 (including Bella Bella)	All ages	
Kwakiutl	B.C.	2,444	1,000	All ages	
Haisla	B.C.	723	100 - 1,000 (including Kitimat)	All ages	
Nootka	B.C.	2,899	1,000 - 2,000	All ages	
		<hr/> 7,169			





7. Linguistic group:	Salishan	Area:	Interior Plateau of British Columbia	Number:	18,552
Dialects and languages	Area		Number in Canada	Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)	Minimum age
Bella Coola	B.C.		553	200 - 400	Over 20
Songish	B.C., Washington		980	40	All ages
Cowichan	B.C.		5,224	1,000 - 2,000	All ages
Puntlatch	--		35	--	--
Shuswap	B.C.		3,463	1,000 - 2,000	All ages
Ntlakyapamuk			2,484	--	--
Comox	B.C.		732	2 or 3	Over 50
Lillooet	B.C.		2,190	1,000 - 2,000	All ages
Semiahmoo	B.C.		27	2	All ages
Okanagan	B.C., Washington		1,381	1,000 - 2,000	All ages
Squamish	Washington		1,075	50 - 100 (none listed for Canada)	Over 50
Sechelt	B.C.		428	Less than 100	Over 50



8. Linguistic group:	Kootenayan	Area:	South-eastern B.C.	Number:	446	Minimum age
Dialects and languages	Area		Number in Canada		Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)	
Kootenayan (Kutenai)	Idaho, Montana, B.C.		446		300 - 500	All ages
9. Linguistic group:	Haida	Area:	Queen Charlotte Islands	Number:	1,225	Minimum age
Dialects and languages	Area		Number in Canada		Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)	
Haida	B.C., Alaska		1,225		700	All ages
10. Linguistic group:	Tlingit	Area:	British Columbia and Yukon	Number:	454	Minimum age
Dialects and languages	Area		Number in Canada		Number of speakers (Areas listed in North America)	
Tagish	Yukon, B.C.		454		446	Over 50
Linguistic groups:	10		Dialects and Languages:	52		
General list (includes Indians with no formal band affiliation; no attempt to identify these people with any linguistic or cultural group)						: 361
Grand Total (based on Indian Registry Records and includes adoptions):					204,830	



## APPENDIX "B"

Some Views on Indian Personality and Organization,

By: Wilfred Pelletier and Duke Redbird.

What is an Indian? This is a question that is often asked, even by Indian people. The law has a definition of that an Indian is, anthropologists have several definitions, and Indian people themselves have various opinions as to the definition of the word Indian. The law says that an Indian is a person who is registered under the terms set down in the Indian Act of Canada. A white woman who marries an Indian man, may become an Indian and may become a member of an Indian band with all the rights and privileges accorded the Indian under the law. The children also would inherit Indian status. Over a number of generations, were the male children to marry all white females, it is a possibility that an Indian reserve could be inhabited by people called Indian who are only a 64th or less "racially" Indian.

Many anthropologists on the other hand, define Indian as one who is a descendant of the aboriginal inhabitants of the North American continent. The more direct the descent the more Indian the person is. Many Indians accept both of these definitions, yet in their own minds they add another qualifying factor, an Indian must also think Indian in order to be regarded





as an Indian. This quality of thinking Indian to be an Indian, is particularly evident in Indian communities. Those who have lost their ability to think Indian, even though they have been born and brought up on an Indian reserve, are regarded by their fellows as non-Indian or white.

In order to understand the difference between Indian and non-Indian thinking let us first explore the nature of the difference between native culture and the mainstream culture. The Indian, unlike the western-European, was not a producer of material goods for his own individual good. He lived in communal societies, without benefit of official institutions, written laws, police forces, prisons, asylums, churches, judges or political parties. There was no concept of individual land ownership, employment, money manipulation, usury, nor competition commercially for personal gain.

The Indian identified with nature and the universe, he did not seek to change nature to suit himself but rather sought to make himself more adaptable to nature. This ability to adapt quickly to changing conditions has persisted to the present day. Nature was abundant and the Indian learned the ways of nature and sought always to find ways and means whereby he could improve his abilities to live agreeably with nature. In times of drought or natural calamities the Indian did not blame nature, but rather tried to find out those things about himself that were to blame, or were the cause of his hardship.



The Indian relied upon intuition and common sense, rather than academic theory in his approach to understanding his environment. In the same manner communication was more intuitive and unconscious, than academic and articulate. Taking these things into account, it becomes understandable why the Indian of today reacts to present situations in a peculiar manner, peculiar that is, to everyone except another Indian. When the government put the Indian on reserves and substituted the welfare cheque for nature's abundance, the Indian also went through a substitution process. Now instead of adapting to nature, the Indian began to adapt to government. The Indian quickly learned that the best way to get along with government was to keep quiet, not rock the boat, and accept without question the policies and "I know what's best for you" attitude of the white culture. The abilities that he had acquired when relating to nature were now used in adapting to the requirements of bureaucracy.

During twenty thousand years in North America there developed within the Indian personality certain distinct features. Just as there are physiological differences between Indian and White, so, too, we may assume, that certain characteristics may have developed psychologically that are inherently different to that of the average white European. These psychological differences can be readily seen when we examine the various relationships that Indians have to their environment as compared to the white relationship to the same things.





A house, for instance, to the Indian, is functional only if it keeps out the rain and wind and other extraneous elements and if it keeps him dry and warm. Because this is all that is required of a house to the Indian, it is not necessary to give his abode a fresh coat of paint every year and it is not necessary to add other embellishments to his home that do not improve the function of this house, as a house. This is of course, in complete contrast to the present day white culture. The people in this society identify personally with their homes, their home is a reflection of their personalities and station in life, it reflects the status they have achieved among their fellows, it is a "front". A house that lacks a coat of paint or is lacking in some other manner, is regarded as symptomatic of the individuals who inhabit that dwelling.

The Indian on the other hand, is never judged by his community according to the amount of money he makes or the amount of material goods he has been able to acquire or by the type of house that he lives in. More often than not, he is judged according to his abilities as a human being, his individual value to the community, his acquired good sense and experience, or lack of these. His status in his community depends upon his personal and individual contribution to his society. To the Indian, aggressiveness and competitiveness





are regarded as undesirable traits; passivity and conformity as good and desirable; the ability to compromise as particularly virtuous, and one-up-manship as particularly revolting. Each individual has a place in the community and progress is horizontal rather than vertical.

In an effort to get the proper perspective, we will have to examine the Indian world right from the day an Indian child is born and how his relationship to his world develops. The Indian child is born into a very friendly atmosphere. His first encounter with the every day world is one of warmth and friendliness. His home is a sanctuary and provides the Indian child with security. Comparing this to a non-Indian home I will try to point out more clearly some basic differences. The non-Indian child's first encounter with his home and with the world about him is inclined to be hostile. The non-Indian child begins his life in isolation from the rest of the home. For instance, his crib, baby buggy and play pen implants in the child's mind, that the world he lives in is restricted. A non-Indian child finds that he does not eat when he is hungry but rather his eating is regulated according to the time table called for by his formula. The very fact that a non-Indian child eats from a bottle, imprints upon the character of the child his relative isolation from the world. This is in contrast to the Indian child who eats not according to a



time table but rather when his appetite requires. The Indian child is not isolated from his parents but rather spends a good deal of his time in the arms of his mother or some other member of the family. The Indian child becomes accustomed to having his desires fulfilled immediately when they are felt.

A non-Indian mother will often leave her child for long periods of time, substituting various kinds of toys dangling across the baby's crib with which to amuse himself in her absence. The child finds that he has to reach out and begins to relate through this process of reaching out, or almost teasing the child with amusements, teaches the child to relate to things with his hands rather than is the case with Indian children who relate with their eyes and mouth. In those areas where the tikenagan or Indian cradle is used extensively, the child is never teased and is never encouraged to use his hands. Communication and experience is directed through the mouth and eyes. The white child quickly learns the discipline of rules or regulations that govern his day-to-day life. He learns that there are times when love is withheld and he is rejected because he has not learned or has transgressed from behaviour patterns acceptable to the world he lives in. This seldom happens to an Indian child. There are practically no patterns of behaviour in an Indian community that would be so objectionable that love would be withdrawn because an Indian child did not conform to them. In a home where cleanliness is a





virtue, a parent would be inclined to scold the child who is constantly dirty and a child who is exceptionally clean, would be rewarded with love. Children in a white home are often rejected because they are dirty, because in white society being dirty is unacceptable. The child goes out and plays in the mud and the first thing a mother does is tell the child to wash and then after the child has washed himself, he finds his mother loves him. So this sets up a pattern in the child's mind where there are times he is loved and times when he is not loved.

In the Indian home, the child is loved all the time. The Indian parent or any other member of the family is just as likely to pick up the child and love him without any regard to whether he is clean or dirty. Indian parents allow their child to learn by experience rather than through a system of rewards and punishments. An Indian mother will tell the child when it is cold out to put on his coat. The child doesn't want to put on a coat and will go outside anyway. The decision is left to the child. What happens in this case is that the child will find out it is cold out and through experience learns to put on a coat without being told. The decision is, therefore, his alone. The child doesn't want to rely totally upon the experience of others in order to know what to do, but rather tends to rely upon his own experience to know what to do. This





creates within a child a security in knowing he has the ability to solve his own problems and he is able to develop a spontaneous learning process, utilizing his intuitive abilities of knowing what's right and what's wrong rather than relying upon someone else's learned experience to tell him what's right and what's wrong. The Indian child grows up in an atmosphere of personal freedom. His world is not restricted nor is it limited.

Indian children are seldom physically punished for wrongs, but rather a group disapproval of undesirable behavior is made evident to him by subtle and intuitive means. Love is never withdrawn because of his behaviour, but rather he learns that he is loved in spite of his immaturity and this knowledge is a determining factor in his willingness to conform to group approved behavior. Within the Indian family, each member is regarded as an individual who has the right to individual action. He is respected without regard to the chronological age of the individual. In an Indian home, a child's wishes are respected by all members of the family and the child is expected to respect the individual rights of the other members of the family. This respect for the right of the individual to make his own decisions in regard to his own personal activities accounts for the great degree of individual decision-making in which a child participates. It is a case in many Indian homes that the child decides for himself from infancy when he



should eat, when he should sleep, when he should work, and when he should play. This great degree of personal freedom that the Indian child knows from infancy can account for the difficulty the Indian child has to adjusting to the educational system when he is required to go to school at the age of six years. Because the Indian child has had the opportunity for the first six years of his life of making his own decisions in regard to his own personal activity, the restrictive atmosphere of the class room creates conflicts within the personality of the child that are not experienced by non-Indian children.

In the Indian home, the child relies upon his intuitive abilities in the solving of problems and the gaining of knowledge. In a white man's classroom, these abilities are not recognized as desirable and the process of expanded consciousness in collecting facts and formulae to solve problems creates conflict within the personality of the child that has implications for the rest of his life. A person who learns to work out problems by relying upon his individual ability, does not require a process of academic experimentation. Indian children seldom commit themselves to academic thrashing about in solving problems. When an Indian is confronted with a situation that is objectionable to him, he will work out an answer in his own mind to the problem, through a process, not of experimentation, but rather of observation. When he knows all there





is to know about the situation, he will then intuitively take a deliberate and pre-meditated approach to overcome a particular predicament. The teachers of Indian children have expressed their enthusiasm with respect to Indian children's ability to devour facts, but they have expressed their frustrations in trying to predict the way an Indian child will use his facts in a given situation. Because a great majority of teachers involved in teaching Indian children do not have an understanding of the Indian personality, there has been no system of education developed that is compatible with the personality of the Indian people. This neglect by the educators of Indian children is largely responsible for the lack of higher education amongst the Indian people.

#### Indian Organization - The Traditional Background

There is no doubt that Indians formed associations and organizations long before the White Man came to North America. The Indian developed organizations but their purposes in creating organizations differ to a great degree from the ideas prevalent in the White society. The tribal organization was founded for purposes of protection and security. The tribal organization was not operated along the currently accepted parliamentary system of democracy but rather was a democratic system of consensus. It was not majority rule that prevailed





in the tribal organization but rather rule by consensus or unanimous opinion. Chiefs were not elected by the people through an elective system but rather by a consensus of opinion and the will of the people to allow someone to have a position of leadership. This meant that, in times of war, an individual who displayed exceptional ability in warfare would become the natural leader of the people while his abilities were necessary to the survival of the people. Similarly in times of peace, when trading was taking place, that individual who exhibited the greatest ability as a merchant would become the national leader of the people and again in times of hunting and fishing when the survival of the tribe depended upon the abilities of the hunters to provide for the community that person best capable of hunting would become the leader of the people. In such times these individuals were accepted as spokesmen for the tribe. Along with those who led the people when circumstances required their services there was another person of great influence in shaping opinion: the medicine man or shaman, or what some call the priest.



These men had developed an understanding of the elements and the spiritual essence of the world and were capable of curing disease, had a knowledge of how to cast out evil spirits or could pronounce blessings upon the communities and were regarded by the people at all times as the real leaders. The opinion then of the spiritual leaders of the tribe was the one that influenced the tribe most and the spiritual leaders were in essence the real organizers of the tribe, the ones who decided the direction and the philosophy of its people.

Traditionally then, an organization of Indian people requires spiritual leaders and the unanimous will of the people in order for that organization to operate in a manner acceptable to the Indian personality. Although tribal organization was the important one to the total community, some organizations operated effectively within the larger organizations. For example, in some Canadian-Indian groups all members of the tribe belonged to a clan; the leaders of these clans again were people who had developed the spiritual understanding and harmony of the elements and who subsequently understood the profounder aspects of the clan organization. Besides the clans, there were





traditionally various other societies such as the medicine societies in the East and the warrior societies in the West. These again operated through the consensus or will of the membership and the leaders of these societies again were members of the traditional priesthood. In these various organizations, all members retained the right to speak and to have an opinion of their own. Before any decisions were passed, a period of compromise would take place and opposing opinions would be modified until unanimous opinion evolved. The traditional approach to decision making was the ability to compromise and those who lacked this ability were considered to be immature by the older and wiser persons in the tribe. It was not thought by Indian people that to stand on one's principles in the face of objections was a virtuous attribute, but rather the ability to be flexible in one's opinion was regarded as a mark of maturity. Therefore, when the white man came to North America and brought with him concepts of a philosophy that justified the idea that the majority has the right to rule the minority, and that the ultimate in democracy was a parliamentary system of government that sustains a loyal opposition, the Indian people were bewildered.





A casual look at the Indian societies or organizations will quickly dispel any conceptions that these organizations were primitive, either in structure or philosophy. The great confederacies of the Iroquois, Six Nations, or the Natchez people in the north or the great empires of the Mayan Aztec and Inca peoples of the south, expressed a degree of sophistication and complexity enough to rival our great bureaucratic organizations of the present day. It is interesting to note that all Indian organizations were essentially theocratic in structure right from the most isolated tribes in the north to the great empires in the south. The all prevailing influence came from the priesthood and was a basic foundation upon which all organized Indian attitudes were built.

Let's compare the present day tribal organization with its traditional counterpart. At first glance, they would look very much the same, that is to say both the tribal and the present day bands have an elected chief and a council. The difference today is that a parliamentary system of majority rule elects the chief, and this is in direct opposition to the traditional Indian approach to electing their leaders. Leadership in a traditional manner came about as a response to the unanimous will of the people, but a



parliamentary system does not require unanimity, only a majority. Because chiefs and councils are being elected by the majority vote system, it has broken down the traditional Indian approach to an organization and it is not compatible with the traditional Indian personality. Because of this, tribal organizations in the present day are for the most part next to useless and do not reflect the will of the people even though the elected members may have won their seats by majority vote. The real leaders in an Indian community seldom stand for election because of this.

Since the parliamentary system of government was introduced on Indian reserves, the breakdown of organizational development is readily evident. This has been one of the greatest problems that the Canadian society has faced in understanding Indian communities. It is not uncommon to speak to people who have been involved in the reserve system to voice their bewilderment when faced with the dilemma of Indian organizations which do not work, particularly at the band level. One hears it stated time and again by non-Indian people that Indians cannot work together, cannot get united and are unable to work in an organized fashion, and it is my belief that the reasons that Indians have difficulty in this area is not because of their lack of ability





to organize, but rather because the Western European concepts of an organization are not compatible to the traditional Indian approach to organization. An Indian person believes that only he can speak for himself, and Indian people do not elect other people to speak for them. Indian people do, however, recognize the abilities of leadership and are willing to allow persons so gifted to play a role in that capacity within the structure of the Indian community. Even so, the Indian person retains for himself the right to speak for himself in all matters that concern him. It is unfortunate that in the past the Western-European has not understood this basic concept of the Indian people. In the Western European desire to deal with one person to speak for a great many, they try to create leaders among the Indian people in the likeness of their concepts of leadership. The Indian over the years has rejected the white man's efforts to change the Indian concepts and to the present day there is not one Indian organization in Canada that is operating effectively by Western-European standards.

A good deal has been written on the subject of the Indian Act and we do not want to dwell too much on this topic but we do believe that the Indian Act has been in some way responsible for the occurrence of weak and ineffective band organization. When the Indian Act was established





as the law, it removed from the Indian the autonomy that is essential to the creation of strong leadership. People who are not required to make responsible decisions do not develop the ability or desire to do so. In a great many cases, the Indian Act took precedence over the desires and the will of the Indian people.

Potential leaders with insight soon recognize the institutional restrictions upon their own aspirations in the context of reserve organization and, this being the case, these leaders seldom stand for election or allow other persons to accept official leadership capacity. Nevertheless, these people do exert a good deal of influence within the Indian communities. Because the Indians have traditional faith in spiritual leadership, it has been noted that in those communities that have been christianized and where the church has become a decisive factor in the community, the Indian people are willing to accept the decisions and leadership of the Christian priesthood over their own political leadership. On many reserves, the church has had extraordinary success in its ability to manipulate the lives of the Indian people in a satisfactory manner. This abiding faith which the Indian has in things spiritual can account for the relative facility with which the church has become established within Indian communities.



The inclination of Europeans to insist that Indians should be, or would be motivated by personal European incentives or attracted by European personal objectives, has ever been and is still the principle stumbling block in European-Indian understanding.

It is becoming increasingly evident to the Indian people that unity among themselves must be obtained in order to gain power within the majority society. Within the past few years a spirit of pan-Indianism has been spreading across Canada. This is evident in the fact that West Coast Indians are wearing Plains Indian head-dresses, and the East Coast Indians are carving totem poles. It is our opinion that Indian people are seeking an identity as a total people rather than as Indian segments or tribes. This trend is evident among the youth and older people across Canada. It is evident that a need exists for the non-Indian people to be aware of this movement. This awareness is of vital importance; otherwise, it will hamper the Indian people and Canada as a whole.









